829

[For specific data examplifying the "concrete expressions of the social structure," see category 116, pp. 25-34.]

/287 cont./

614 other with food, at least among the men. For, aside from the
264 meals taken in the male club and those brought to the dancers
345 at the end of each ceremony, each family provides its own food in its private house.

614 Clan privileges rest in exclusive possession of names, songs,
626 dances, and emblems, and in special rights to the utilization /288/
424 of certain techniques, certain objects, and certain materials. These prerogatives are strictly respected. An Indian whom we asked what would prevent a clan's making the ornaments of its neighboring clan for itself considered the suggestion absolutely improbable. Faced with our insistence he told us that the members of the clan would certainly become angry and inflict a correction on the offender; but such incidents, it appears, never happen.

Concrete Expressions of the Social Structure

● 829 Figures 16 to 19 /see pp. 26, 29, 31, and 32/ summarize what we were able to gather of these concrete expressions of the social structure.

Objects

411 Bows. One finds three types of bows in Kejara:
the ordinary bow, of bare wood, undifferentiated;
the bow for big hunting (Fig. 16). It is identical to the pre-
[531] ceding, but on parts of the sector of bare wood which the left
[824] hand grasps and of the sector covered with rope to protect the wood
[283] from the rubbing of the arrow, the wood is decorated with white rings made from the bark of an uaguassû (noid'do) palm tree and
[614] fastened on with ligatures of vegetable fiber. The number of these rings and their arrangement in relation to the middle of the bow distinguish the clans.

[Text Continues on p. 27]

114 knew that soon we would have to leave. The Bororo begged for
167 food on the surrounding farms, and when drunk they would talk
177 about the land that had been stolen from them. Everyone was
[121] afraid that when he died there would not be enough Bororo
114 left to properly carry out the funeral ceremonies. In our year of residence there only three times did we hear loud laughter resounding through the village; we still remember it.

121 I did not go among the Bororo for the purpose of studying their kinship system and social organization. In my grant proposal to the National Science Foundation, I wrote that I intended to study Bororo mythology and religious ideas. The extensive work done by the Salesian missionaries and Lévi-Strauss seemed to justify my belief that the Bororo social structure had been well researched and did not need yet another interpretation. However, I did want to make a semantic analysis of their kinship system. Being Lounsbury's student, I wanted to meet Lévi-Strauss' challenge,

> The fact that his [Lounsbury's] analytical procedure could have resulted in a thorough reinterpretation of a system, such as that of the Iroquois, we believed we knew so well, should contribute new insights that may help us to understand similarly difficult systems from other parts of the world. I instance that of the South American Bororo which raises problems of a similar nature. (Levi-Strauss 1965:13-14)

I thought that this challenge could be met somehow in my leisure time while I concentrated on learning the language and recording and analyzing Bororo myths.

121 Things went differently, however. I did start my field
114 work by recording myths and observing ceremonies, but soon I

121 realized that I would not be able to grasp fully the meanings
114 of the myths and ceremonies unless I understood the kinship
[53] system and social organization. Most of the myths dealt with
[29] ancestors whose relationships and behavior were given as justification for relationships among the living. Pronouncements about social groups seemed full of contradictions. Often, when discussing two protagonists of a myth, an informant would say that they were two different people, and the same person at the same time. The living and the dead seemed to be confused with each other. Mother and children often blended together. Objects would suddenly get a new color designation when they became paraphernalia for ceremonies. All these puzzles invariably led to kinship terminology, by which the Bororo seemed to explain everything. Thus, instead of analyzing mythology and religion, I had to start to study the Bororo kinship system and social organization. The findings are summarized in this dissertation and will hopefully serve as a starting point for further publications. In this sense I regard the work as a necessary prolegomena to the study of the Bororo.

128 The first part of this dissertation deals with kinship terminology, with the arguments favoring a "genealogical" rather than a "categorical" approach, and with a semantic analysis of the referential system.

The concepts developed in the first part are essential for understanding the relevant features of the social structure. The second part deals with the relationships between

people know a person by one name, some by another, depending on which name he was using at the time they had the closest contact with each other. Still another problem was the fact that the Bororo recognize as "fathers" all the men who had sexual relations with Ego's mother at the time of conception and during pregnancy. Two of my informants had been sons of the village's "wanton" or "female associate" (Crocker 1969b) and they had only two classes of relatives in the opposite moiety, i.e., fathers and father's sisters (grandmothers). Only slowly with greater knowledge of the context of each particular instance, did I start to see some pattern in the apparent confusion. The native criteria have been of help for some of the semantic rules employed in the analysis of the referential systems, but there is some variation in how people explain extensions of terms. Many people had their own theories, but none of these theories worked through the whole system. One woman, when asked in abstract about the classification of particular kin types, answered in terms of the moiety theory. She would count the connecting links, placing them with her finger in imaginary spaces of her own and the opposite moiety. Once the kin type was placed, she would say, "If he (she) is older than myself, then I will call him (her) ... so and so." Her system could not work in all cases, and she did not even call her own actual relatives according to it.

Another man had a different theory. According to him all the relatives traced through mother were called by the

868 562 makes for her. A boy will play with calabashes and with small bows and arrows made for him by his father. As they grow up girls and boys are educated by their mothers and fathers, respectively, in the tasks that they will perform as adults. The fact that the principal educator of a boy is 868 622 his father has far-reaching consequences. Since the Bororo headman, boe eimejera, should be a good hunter, a good fisherman, a good craftsman, and above all an intellectual with great knowledge of tribal traditions, myths, and songs, and since all skills and knowledge are acquired from one's fathers and initiators, the office of headman is not transmitted matrilineally but goes from father to son. One may also become knowledgeable without having a knowledgeable father. He may receive the desired instruction from some other man, but only if he pays the man, i.e., if he gives presents of food in exchange for information. From his matrilineage, from his classificatory brothers, and from his namegiver (if he is one of his brothers) a man will inherit the right to ceremonial performances, names, and songs; but he will not be taught how to perform the ceremonies or how to sing the songs unless he pays his instructors. I quote here the words of a headman, which convey the Bororo thoughts about education:

868 829 593 If your father is a knowledgeable man, if he is a chief of the Bororo, he will want you to be like him, to be as knowledgeable as he is. He will will die but you will be here in his place, you will be the chief of the Bororo in his place. With this in mind he instructed you in all these things.

But suppose you do not listen to your father's

868 words. He wants to teach you but you do not care and as a consequence you remain ignorant. The people 829 will say, "It may be that his father was ignorant, and because of this he does not know anything." I 593 know things and thus the people do not gossip about my father. People say about me, "With him is his father's knowledge and reason."

Another example. The people do not quarrel with your father or with your mother, nor do they quarrel with you; they will say, "Yes, he is the true child of his parents, he is just like they are." But if you fight and quarrel with people, they will say: "He is not the child of his parents; they are different."

However, if your father does not know things, you will kill some animal, you will catch some fish, and you will give them to someone who knows things, and he will teach you. The people will then say, "The father is no good, and yet his son speaks so well. He is not stingy with meat and fish and feathers. He is knowledgeable, because he is not stingy. So after having been an orphan, he is not an orphan anymore."

1

Ao yoruduwa rakã-guragare, boe eimejerare aoche. Jorudu iwa rakã-guragare toro. Du tabore ichare ure awodudo. Kodire aidure awo nono turyeore. Aerudu iwawo tuyorudu iwa rakã-guraga du uryeore. Rudumi tu vi mode ma aki akagurure tumugato kodi. Akiwo boe eimejerare aki tumugato. Kodire ure aerudu iwado tumearudae jamẽdu boeji. Oino.

Mare aki amearu toru kare ao boe eimejera bataruji. Aidure aerudu iwado, mare amearu toru kare bataruji. Kodire ichare aerudu iwa bokware. Kodire boe egore: 'ao rabora yoruduwa bokware kodiba ichare aerudu iwa bokware. Oino. Imire paga karega iyorudu iware oino. Kodire boe emago kare toro iyogwaji. Boe egore apore uwo jorudae, mearudae meture.

Iya pugeje. Boe kori kare aoji, acheji. Du boe kori kare ai, arugodu kare, ako ki kare. Du boe ego mode: 'u, onaregedu rugadu rabode. Kodire ichare ure nono tuje, tuwo uryeore. Iya keje ao pega kare, ache pega kare, akire ichare apegare. Boe kori barikare ai, arugodu kigodure, ako ki kigodure boei. Ao, ache onaregedu karega ure aki kodi. Aore tuginoi.

Mare ao yorudu iwa bokwa iya boeji, mare nonore ure. Kodire a mode iya karo, iya barogo a mode bito. Du a mode iya rogu maku t jorudu iwarewu mearudu iwarewu ai. Du tabore ichare u mode aerudu iwado. Du tabore boe ego mode: 'Uwo pega, jorudu iwa bokwa kodi karega, akore oino. Mare jetori kare t iya ture bitowu karo, barogo, nabure kuido ikodo aro

597 When a child loses his parents, he is not left alone. Usually one of his mother's true or classificatory sisters or his father's true mother or sister will take care of him. 737 Old or disabled persons also can count on a large range of 736 relatives for some help and food. In Pobojari there was a blind man living in the men's house. When the "meal of the spirits" was held, his pots and pans were filled up so that he would have enough food for the next day. Normally eight women of the village saw to it that he was not without food. The man was a classificatory brother to three of the women. He was the mother's brother (a "brother") to an unmarried girl who was also an orphan and was living with her father's sister. She did not have food of her own, but she made a fire for the blind man when it was cold, and occasionally she washed his dishes. To another of the three women he was "father's son" (uwo onaregedu), and to the third he was "father's brother's son" (uwo umana onaregedu). Two other women addressed him as "grandfather" (iyedaga): he was "husband's brother" (oredu umana) to one and "husband's father's son" (Oredu uwo onaregedu) to the other. Still another called him "father" (iyogwa). He was "father's brother" (uwo uviye) to her. Finally there were two women who considered themselves his "mother." Each had taken the role of mother for different dead belonging to the same

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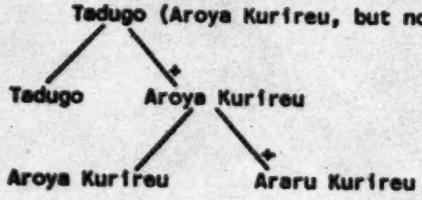
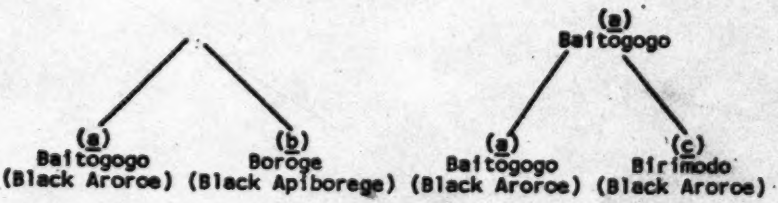
868 829 593 bu keje, kodire ichare jorudu iware oino, jetori bokware kodi. Du tabore ure jorudo iwado marenaru ui t pudumidu oto keje. Kodire ichare marenaru kare ema. Oino.'"

like to stress that they are not really the same person:



The Bororo also express the relation between two lineages belonging to different clans of the same moiety, but considered to be close, in terms of the older-brother—younger-brother relationship. But in this case they do not reduce the two lineages to the same person, and here too the relationship is not transitive to other lineages considered to be true brothers of the two lineages involved. For example:



Baitogogo (a) and Boroge (b) are brothers but "not really the same person" (they are from different clans). Baitogogo (a) and Birimodo (c) are brothers and they "are the same person" (they belong to the same clan). When asked if Birimodo (c) and Boroge (b) are brothers, the Bororo repeat that Baitogogo (a) is the older brother of Birimodo (c), and he is

613 also the older brother of Boroge (b), avoiding a direct answer
829 to the question. On the other hand, all the lineages from
616 the same moiety are considered brothers, so when forced to give a straight answer the Bororo will say that they are brothers, appealing to the broadest sense of that term.

As we can imagine, this flexibility of interpretation--employing terms in either a narrow or a broad sense--gives the Bororo a great freedom to interpret the relationship between lineages as it best serves them in any given situation.
636 The difference of individual opinion is also great, and if a
773 quarrel arises, the man who knows more mythical facts and
181 ways to manipulate them will win the argument. But since the Bororo do not like to argue, there is an established unofficial hierarchy based on knowledge. The least knowledgeable, the one who is going to lose the argument, keeps his opinions to himself whenever a more knowledgeable man speaks.
124 The first thing I learned in the field was never to reveal the source of my information. Some of the Bororo would occasionally guess whose opinion it might be, but nevertheless they could not be completely sure if their suppositions were right or wrong. And, what was most important, my refusal to reveal my informant's name allowed the new informant to speak more freely because he was relieved of the fear that he too might be exposed to the criticism of the others.

551 The discussion at the beginning of this chapter illus-
613 trated the difficulty in distinguishing between personal names and lineage names. All the lineage names are also

614 each clan is divided into two subclans, and the terms used
823 for the subclans are not the same in each case. Some subclans are termed chobugiwu (upstream), some chebegiwu (downstream). And, at the same time, some of them are called choreu (black), or kujagureu (red). One lineage (Koge Enogwa Tabowu) belongs to both the red and black subclans, and four subclans are designated by special terms. These inconsistencies in the designation of subclans reproduce the way in which the Bororo talk about their subclans.

614 The relationship between the subclans within a clan is
829 regarded as being that between older and younger brothers. One of the subclans is called Etumanamage (Older Brothers); the alternative names for Older Brothers are Choreu (Black) and Kurireu (Big). The other subclan is called Etuviyemage (Younger Brothers), with Kujagureu (Red) or Kugurireu (Small) being alternative names for Younger Brothers.

614 This division does not correspond to the division of
823 the two subclans in chobugiwuge (upstream) and chebegiwuge
829 (downstream), which is solely related to the position of each subclan toward the flow of the river. The choreuge can be downstream and the kujagureuge upstream, as among the Kiye, Paiwoe, Apiborege, and Ivagududoge; but their position can be the reverse, as among the Araroe. Being downstream or upstream in itself does not say anything about the importance of the subclan. Besides, the terms chobugiwuge and chebegiwuge can be used to indicate the relative position of units in other contexts. Within each subclan one

lineage can be upstream in relation to another lineage, which in its turn, is upstream in relation to a third one. The clans within a moiety are upstream or downstream in relation to each other. Finally, the whole village could be divided into two halves, the upstream and the downstream, though this division is not a functional one.[1]

The term boyadadawuge (those in the middle) is applied similarly. It can indicate a lineage situated between two other lineages or a clan situated between two other clans, or it can indicate village leaders whose place on the village plaza is central, while less important people sit around them. In literature about the Bororo this term has often been used to designate a third subdivision of the clan. We have already briefly explained the usage of this term in connection with the status of the lineage Koge Enogwa Tabowu within the Ivagududoge clan (see page 120). Some lineages which do not own any ornaments, songs, or ceremonies of their own, and which are geographically situated between two subclans, may if they wish use prerogatives that belong to either one of their neighbors, the Blacks or the Reds. When mentioned--and these lineages are rarely mentioned because they are not important--they are included either among the Blacks or among the Reds. But if in doubt, the Bororo will call them boyadadawu.

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[1] A few informants would object to this statement. They say that the souls of the dead people inhabit one or the other of the lands of the spirits, depending on their position in the upper or lower part of the village while alive.

cause their Echerae husbands and wives would quarrel with them."[1]

Still, even today marriages within a moiety are quite frequent. Of twenty marriages in Pobojari five were between members of the same moiety; one of these was between members of the same clan. The Bororo say that when this happened in the past, the men from the opposite moiety would take the woman living with her moiety brother into the men's house, where she would be sexually available to all of them. Furthermore, though marriage with a moiety sister is an offense to the males of the opposite moiety, sexual relations are not. There is no special word for incest in the Bororo language. There is nothing horrifying in having sexual relations with a classificatory sister, and no supernatural punishment is to be expected for doing it. As for sexual relations with a real sister, or with a mother, the Bororo say only that it does not happen. It did happen one night in our village during a drinking party. A man and a woman, children of the same mother but different fathers, had sexual relations with each other. The only comment I could get from the villagers the next day was that the case was quite unusual,

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1 "Ivagududoge remawuge, Orarimogodoge remawuge ekodo chaje. Echerae emedu kare etada. Duwure okiwa rema, kachuoro rema. Du wure okiwareu rema, pobureu rema, chiwaje rema, kuje rema, korao rema, kido rema. Du kodire eigoyare bu rogu remawu botudo t botudo t je. Mare kodure boiwugere erore oino jiwugerema ero kare ino, epagudure turo mode ino pui duji, awu tugoge, tuvire Echerae ekorigodu mode pudui duji kodi."

but then, when people drink, they are not responsible for their actions. I could not detect any great concern over what had happened.

Besides, to the Bororo the examples from the mythical past are the rules for today's life, and a knowledgeable man will always find enough examples to justify his behavior. If he is Kiye or Bokodori Echerae, there will be no difficulty in finding precedents for intra-moiety relations. From myths and stories I have recorded four cases in which both partners were Kiye. One case concerns true siblings; four cases concern sexual relationships between Kiye and Badajebage Chebegiwuge (excluding, of course, those sanctioned as yorubodare); and three cases concern relations between Kiye and Bokodori Echerae. In two cases Bokodori Echerae men slept with their clan sisters; one of them also slept with his true sister. The Badajebage Chebegiwuge can find justification for their intraclan relations in the story about Meri (the sun), who had sexual relations with his sister when he was still among the Bororo. The same story will serve the Paiwoe too, because when Meri was on earth he was a member of the Paiwoe clan; later, when he went into the sky, the Badajebage Chebegiwuge saw him first, so he is now regarded as their ancestor.

The Tugarege do not have so many precedents, but, as it was said earlier, they slept with each other when the Echerae were not yet around. And there is also a story which tells of Tori Bugu (Paiwoe) having sexual intercourse with his

773 father's wife Ikuirago, who belonged to the Apiborege. The
183 ensuing rule is quite clear: you can have sexual relations
835 with whomever pleases you, but, as a civilized man with
616 [571] respect for tradition and a little fear of your yorubodare,
[582] you should marry a woman from the opposite moiety.

553 From the preceding chapters it is clear that the same
*401 name denotes equivalence: Bakorokudu the ancestor and
828 Bakorokudu the descendant are equivalent. On the other
829 hand, self-reciprocal terms of address denote equality of
[554] status. There are very few self-reciprocal terms like yorubodare in the Bororo language: imeduya or ito inowu between men married to sisters and imedago between women married to the same man. In the first case the distinction between older and younger brother is neutralized, in the second case the distinction between older and younger sister is neutralized. All of these self-reciprocal terms reflect
[622] basic equality of the people concerned. In addition, truly great chiefs, regardless of their being from the same or opposite moiety, show their equality by reciprocally calling each other nicknames like pega-pega (bad-bad) or matado
553 (crazy). I often wondered about the meaning of three Bororo
828 stories, each of them dealing with the meeting of persons
829 with the same name: Chenawuyare in the first, Waboreu in the
538 second, and Kuriga in the third. The protagonists, with very little variation, mirror each other. The stories sound quite funny, being full of sentences like: "Kuriga said 'Kuriga' to his companion Kuriga." In a society where the majority

In a society where the majority of the terms of address are non-reciprocal, perhaps the function of these stories is to create and reinforce the idea of the possibility of reciprocity and equality.

Another instance of reciprocal address results from the initiation ceremonies. All the boys initiated at the same time are given a common name, which they later use in addressing each other. This name supersedes any other term, past or future, resulting from their kinship relationships. In Pobojari there were two survivors of the last initiation held there. Though they were sociologically related in many ways, they addressed each other reciprocally as Kuruye. Kuruye was the name given to all the initiates on that occasion. Other names that could have been chosen are Bachereuge, Adorodoge, Kunanae, and Inojiye. Though nobody ever recorded the existence of age classes among the Bororo, the existence of this group of boys bound together by the common experience of becoming full members of adult society at the same time, and among whom all kinship terminology is abolished in favor of equality, clearly points to the possible existence of age groups in the past. This would not be too surprising in view of the close cultural similarities between the Bororo and the other Gê tribes.

/516 cont./

115 Moguyokuri é muito criança, "is purely a child," said Clemente, who knows nothing, and this certainly agreed with the fact that the chief, as he told me, no longer knew who his grandfather was. A hoary old man who really knew something about the creation of the world -- for he had heard the details from his grandfather, who was himself present at the time -- this valuable informant was unfortunately off hunting.

•829 Even information about other tribes with whom the Bororó were said to be in contact was extremely meager and limited to a few statements about the Kayapó, who were said to have smooth, short, but very strong and tough bows, rather small arrows made of tacoarasinha with feathers sewed on and two iron barbs, as well as a flat club, one meter long, shaped somewhat like a fish, made of seriba palm wood, and worn around the neck on a string.

773 Besides these, however, there were other strange neighbors in the tribe of the Rarái, also called baredyeragúdo. One sees them only in twos or threes, and only at night; they wear bast cloth and have a blackish, never a light skin-color. They are monkeys. They threw Bororó to the ground at such and such a place and ran away. Clemente -- and this is not without value because he repeated the very words of the Indians themselves -- solemnly swore that the Rarái were monkeys; they do not have arrows, they pick up stones or wood from the ground to throw, and they also have garruchas -- "pistols," such as the Brazilian comrades and hence also the Negroes and the fleeing slaves (cf. for example, our lovers, page 23 /untranslated/) quite generally possessed. "They are monkeys and they shoot with pistols?" "Yes, they are monkeys with iron pistols." The Negro, accordingly, has the agreeable choice of being regarded as a monkey or as a black carrion-vulture. One must constantly remember and make clear to oneself, however, that there is no boundary here between human being and animal and even the possession of an implement of civilization does not mean a thing. If monkeys have pistols, one cannot very well say that they do not have them.